Telicity in Persian complex predicates with *šodæn*

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The present study, aimed at investigating the determinant(s) of telicity in Persian complex predicates with *šodæn* 'to become', takes up two objectives:

i) To militate against the proposal that *šodæn* is inherently telic (Karimi-Doostan 1997; Folli, Harley & Karimi 2005; Taleghani 2008), and

ii) To argue, based on a new classification of preverbs, for an l-syntactic analysis of aktionsart (Ramchand 2001, 2008).

➢ To meet the first objective, two main counter-arguments are provided. First, as can be seen in (1), when the participle form of a transitive motion verb (e.g. *kešidæn* 'to pull') is the preverb, the sentence will be atelic (and hence compatible with *for x time* expressions) even though the internal argument *ʔan čæmedan* 'that suitcase' is quantized (cf. Beavers 2011a).

(1) ʔan čæmedan noh dæqiqe ruye zæmin kešide šod   (atelic)
    that suitcase nine minute on   ground pull-PP become-PST.3SG
    'That suitcase was pulled on the ground for nine minutes.'

Second, as shown in (2), when the preverb is a degree achievement predicate (like gradable adjectives), the sentence will be telic only if it is clear that a specific result is obtained and otherwise atelic (cf. Beavers 2011b).

(2) ʔab   bæraye čænd dæqiqe særd o   særd-tær   šod   (atelic)
    water for   some minute cool and cool-COMP   become-PST.3SG
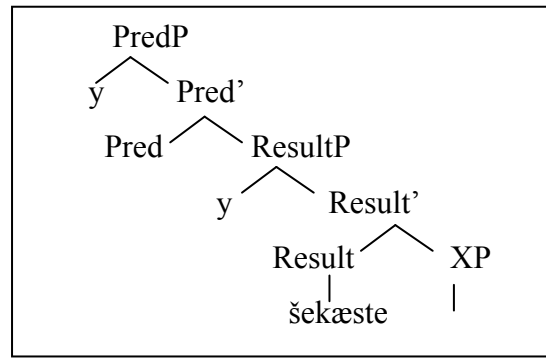   'The water became cool and cooler for some minutes.'

Moreover, both events described in (1) and (2) are homogeneous, that is, the subevents can be uttered by the same predicate expressing the whole event.

Thus, telicity is not encoded in the lexical determination of *šodæn* 'to become' and hence the construction including it is not necessarily telic.

➢ To meet the second objective, this study makes use of Ramchand's l-syntactic analysis of aktionsart. Regardless of the cause subevent and the INITIATOR theta-role, the preverbs in *šodæn* constructions are classified in two groups:
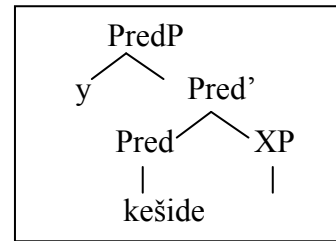
(a) Preverbs whose roots have the feature specification [+Pred, +Result] (e.g. *šekæste* 'broken'), as shown in (3). These give rise to a telic *Process-Result* structure.

(3) goldan   šekæste   šod   (telic)
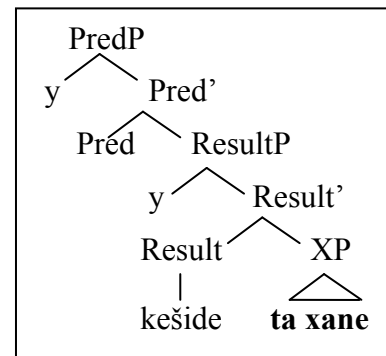   vase   break-PP   become-PST.3SG
    'The vase was broken.'

```
              PredP
             /    \
            y      Pred'
                  /    \
               Pred     ResultP
                       /    \
                      y      Result'
                            /    \
                        Result    XP
                          |        |
                       šekæste
```

(b) Preverbs whose roots have the feature specification [+Pred] (e.g. *kešide* 'pulled'), as shown in (4). These give rise to an atelic *Process* structure.

(4) čæmedan   ruye   zæmin   kešide   šod   (atelic)
    suitcase   on   ground pull-PP become-PST.3SG
    'The suitcase was pulled on the ground.'

```
          PredP
         /    \
        y      Pred'
              /    \
           Pred     XP
            |        |
         kešide
```

The constructions with preverbs from group (b) may then be systematically augmented to a *Process-Result* structure by adding prepositional resultatives, for instance, as shown in (5).

(5) čæmedan **ta xane** ruye zæmin kešide šod   (telic)
    suitcase to house on   ground pull-PP become-PST.3SG
    'The suitcase was pulled on the ground into the house.'

```
              PredP
             /    \
            y      Pred'
                  /    \
               Pred     ResultP
                |       /    \
                       y      Result'
                             /    \
                         Result    XP
                           |       /\
                        kešide   ta xane
```

This new analysis of constructions with *šodæn* 'to become' allows for a uniform account of determinants of telicity in Persian complex predicates.

Selected References

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